1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

584 Tomerae is a married man from the bush village of Lenopil. He came to the beach village of Lesu, and while there he was told that another man wanted to marry his wife. Tomerae agreed, and accepted the return of his marriage payment.

Several Lesu people now suggested to him that he marry Pakamus, a young girl who had been betrothed, but whose intended husband had recently choked to death over a fish-bone. To this suggestion Tomerae at first said "No," more from coyness or shyness than from unwillingness. A little later he returned to his bush village, and on the way passed the garden where Pakamus' mother was working. He stopped and cleared some ground for her, to indicate that he was willing to marry her daughter. The mother, however, asked him directly, and he replied "Yes."

He continued to Lenopil, and when he arrived there told his clan relatives that he wanted all his pigs and *tsera*, which they had been holding for him. To questions from his relatives, he replied that he was going to marry a girl from the village of Lesu. They wanted to know what was wrong with the bush girls. He said he did not want any of them and had determined to marry Pakamus from Lesu. So he collected his property, returned to Lesu, and married Pakamus.

858 861 We have observed the preparation of the child for adult life; the discipline he undergoes; his gradual knowledge of and participation in adult activities; his play; the beginning of kinship patterns; his instructions in folklore, and, in general, his education. We have noted the age-grouping of boys in play, but no similar grouping of girls.

We find in Lesu no childhood world completely separated from the adult one, nor one with different ideals. Instead we find the children always observers or minor participants of the adult society. As soon as they are able to toddle, the children learn the line of sex division in social life. At all rites, and in social life, the boys are with the men and the

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little girls with their mothers. A little boy of five accompanies his father to the feast in the cemetery, while his sister remains outside with her mother. They learn their future occupations by first observing and then gradually participating in the activity. They are interested witnesses to trading and other economic transactions, all of which are made in public. They hear the speeches in which reciprocity is the underlying note, observe how the payments are made, and know who has attained the most prestige. They listen to the speeches in which the women extol their husbands as good workers, or shame them for their laziness. Quite early they learn to do as they are told by their parents, and observe in the village life the respect for and the authority of the old men and women. They notice kinship patterns of behaviour among the adults and begin to practise some of them themselves. The incest taboo is impressed upon them even in their play. During all this time they have been surrounded with affection and care from both their parents and their clan relatives. Among the boys special friendships are formed, but these seem to be lacking among the girls.

Because it is the life they have been observing ever since they have been able to take notice, by the time these children have reached puberty they are well trained for their adult life, which now begins, They have heard the ideals and patterns of adult behaviour set forth in speeches, discussions, gossip, and folk-tales, and they have seen them functioning in life. No other standards or ideals have been set before the child. He has not had held before him one type of behaviour in economic transactions, or some other aspect of life, only to learn later that this is not the actual practice. These Melanesian children receive a realistic type of education.

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Lesu

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE

562 858 THE first ritual event for the girl after she has passed her infancy is at the beginning of puberty. During the first two or three years of her life she is the pet of the community and the *raison d'être* for many rites and feasts. But during her childhood she is no longer the centre of attention, and instead lives on the edge of the adult world, listening to its conversations, imitating the dances, watching her mother scrape the taro, and later doing her share in the cooking. When her brothers and the other young boys of the village are circumcised there are elaborate rites, but they do not directly concern her. It is true, she participates in the general excitement of the occasion, witnesses the ceremonies, even helps in the preparations of food, and joins in the dances of the adult women. But she is in no way an integral part of the rites. They concern the boys. At the age of five or six, or earlier, she is betrothed, but here too, while intimately concerned, it is her mother, her mother's brother, and maternal relatives of the future husband who are the actors. She is in the background.

RITES AT FIRST MENSES

881 885 She comes to the foreground when her first menses occur. This is not just a personal matter, of concern to herself or to her immediate family, but it is a ritual and communal event. It is anticipated with eagerness, and the rites are prepared for and participated in by the whole community. Its ritual and social significance is due to the fact that the girl is now considered an adult, and that the marriage rites follow immediately. It marks her entrance into adult female